1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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[P.148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their 759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but 178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is 759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend- 465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

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764 575 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 575 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

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the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

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764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 775 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

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177 The most common clothing for men is Western cotton wash trousers and a shirt or T-shirt. In warm weather, trousers are usually short. In colder weather, more layers are worn, trousers on trousers and shirts on shirts, [292] to be topped with a sweater or jacket. A man probably owns one dress-up suit which is saved for special occasions and worn with a shirt and tie. The suit lasts for years and was probably acquired for his wedding. Since the jackets last longer than trousers, replacement of the trousers results in unmatched dress-up outfits for older men. Underpants are often very colorful, much like the old flour-sack[8] material in the United States. Undershirts, when worn, are either T-shirts or the jockey [513] type. Pajamas, two piece, are usually worn to bed and also, in the evening after dinner in the leisure period before going to bed. Most of the time, in warm weather, men go barefoot or wear wooden clogs. The Japanese-style clog with the very thick soles are only for leisure in the evening. Occasionally, men wear a high boot with the big toe separated much like a mitten for work in the field. With these boots which were copied from the Japanese, the trousers are bloused. A pair of leather shoes is purchased for a wedding but rarely worn thereafter. A few old men wear a Chinese jacket but old-style Chinese trousers were not observed. Some men wear modern raincoats but most older men prefer the old-fashioned rush mat coat.

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However, in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more often
[542] wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a haircut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop although there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's dress and behavior but do not have much success. The girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.